602 elicited with little difficulty:

[682] [683] It is the father's family that is responsible for the dia (blood-money, compensation to a non-group member and his group for physicalinjuries or death brought about by the activity of own group members), they will support you if you get into trouble, it is from them that you get your property, if you marry and have no money, they will collect it for you, and you don't have to pay it back, but you will help them when asked for other people in the family - they are the mai durbe (king of the families).

Upper class members made the following generalization in their statements about the father's family: they felt that the great utility of the patrilateral group is its readiness to support an individual member when he is in trouble, and of course its eventual material use to him in terms of property.

When informants were asked at some other time about the matrilateral kin group without any reference to the father's family and in the context of a conversation having to do with loans and credit, the answer was similar to the following given by a small hamlet farmer:

> Oh yes, for these things (credit) you must go to your mother's family, they will not refuse you anything, for they feel for you like a mother feels for her child.

Upper class members observed similarly that if summa kalewa (if all was well) then people like their mother's family better, it is more [184] affectionate. They also felt that it might be easier to borrow money from the matrilateral groups but were not as unanimous in this respect as the lower class member (neither class was completely unanimous).

[152] In answer to questions about jealousy (kèndulɨ) differences, all informants agreed that there was much more of this among the patrilateral group. One informant expanded this as follows:

632
661 He therefore supported the lower class person against his fellow upper class member.

632 Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against
661 a Fulani herder whose cows had eaten his millet. The case came
before Lawan who ruled that although the Fulani had pulled a
• 683 knife on Bukar (a serious offence), it was Bukar who had started
684 the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cows to wander over Bukar's field and devour his, as well as another man's, crops. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops and given an extra fine of five shillings as kafelo for the District Head. (Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started; besides this, pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offence to the fight itself, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanour).

632 In discussing the matter, Bukar's senior, the teacher ex-
661 plained that Lawan was angry at Bukar for his behaviour over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine he was told by the teacher to give the money to Lawan and to say that he (Bukar) was a small insignificant poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell Lawan that if there was any help that Lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future. If Lawan continued to adjudicate against him and give him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with Lawan, but if this were impossible then higher authorities would be resorted to and Lawan's power by-passed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected within limits.

This case illustrates how easy it is for a Lawan to make a reprisal for lack of sensitivity to his power and authority on the part of the peasants under his jurisdiction. His power of granting land use rights, settling disputes, and imposing fines, intersects the lives of his peasants at such vulnerable points that to thwart his power and authority and remain in his territory without the possibility of reprisal would be impossible.

632 A Lawan is installed officially by the Shehu at an invest-
[643] iture ceremony in Maiduguri. Even if he inherited the position he must still be "turbaned" by the Shehu to hold office properly. Some village areas claim the same lines of Lawans well back into the 19th century,